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NEWS & VIEWS

Groppi's Worth

The prosecution in the claims case against Father James E. Groppi for a 1969 sit-in at the Wisconsin capitol played a sleazy bit of pool in banking into its game the tax records and financial holdings of the civil rights priest.

It is impossible to believe that Groppi's earnings (\$21,500 annually for the last four years), his insurance policies, savings accounts, bonds and stock investments (value \$85,000), were all that pertinent to the case.

Nor seems the fact that he once paid \$1,347.81 in additional taxes and penalties as a result of not keeping very good records during one especially hectic year.

The prosecution's objective appears to have been calculated more to tarnish the priest's image than influence the claims commissioner's mind. The tactic was so obvious and crude that I doubt it dispelled many of the grand impressions people have of Father Groppi.

On the other hand, not all that persuasive was Groppi's defensive response with respect to his holdings: "It gives me a sense of independence. You know my position in the church at best is precarious, and I suppose I feel a little insecure about that."

He recovered partially at a press conference a few days later, commenting: "The work that I get involved in is not the kind of work that the United Community Fund, for example, or that Government-sponsored programs will support. When I get arrested or sued . . . I cannot go to the archbishop and ask, 'Will you take care of this lawsuit for me?'"

Groppi announced that beginning in January he will make a public accounting each year of his income and assets.

Powell & the Berrigans

If the Harrisburg Defense Committee and Harrisburg defendants are sticklers about anything, it's the credentials of the principals.

Thus, when the *New York Times* reprinted a Richmond *Times-Dispatch* article of Supreme Court nominee Lewis Powell containing an inaccuracy about the Berrigans, protests and press releases flowed from Defense headquarters.

One telegram (to the Senate Judiciary Committee) argued that the errors raised doubts about "his competence as a lawyer, his sense of fairness and his care in the handling of facts."

In his article, Powell had written: "The Berrigans, one of whom stands convicted of destroying draft records, are charged with plots to bomb and kidnap."

Rep. William Anderson of Tennessee set the record straight on the House floor: "The facts are that not one Berrigan, but two, both Daniel and Philip, stand convicted of destroying draft records and are now serving sentences at Danbury, Connecticut; and not two Berrigans, but one, Philip, is a defendant in the so-called Harrisburg conspiracy case. Daniel Ber-

rigan has never been a defendant in this case, except by proclamation of FBI Director Hoover last November."

Having "clarified" Powell's mind, Anderson then inserted into the *Congressional Record* Dan Berrigan's 12-page letter of last May 16 to Hoover containing the memorable line: "So, in America, in 1971, I had rather be a prisoner on my own terms, than a President on yours."

The 'Opinion' Press

It looks like the German hierarchy's expensive experiment in opinion journalism isn't going to make it after all. *Publik*, the "supranational" publication launched in May, 1968, to reflect the "pluralism of thought" within German Catholicism on ecclesiastical, political and social matters, will probably be closed down by June.

The German bishops provided the journal an initial grant of 15 million marks, equivalent to nearly \$4 million; they have channeled a further 15 million marks into the publication since. Another hefty grant is needed if the publication is to continue.

The problem to continuance is less the cost of the venture than growing "conservative" opposition to *Publik's* orientation. Several dioceses have threatened to withhold financial support to protest what they term the journal's "outspoken politically leftist trend," and its "progressive" line on church questions, including "frequent criticism of Vatican policies."

Publik's contention is that now more than ever German Catholics need an independent weekly that can stand in "clear contrast" to the "one-sided conservative forces" within the Catholic press.

Publik was in a similar financial and ideological bind in late 1969, but the bishops responded to the argument that if *Publik* ceased publication the impression might be gleaned that they were not

sympathetic to free speech in the church, not interested in objective discussion of the problems of the world, and timid about critical dialogue.

This time hopes are not nearly so high that the bishops will act affirmatively.

Publik's circulation, meanwhile, has climbed to 93,000. There are 27 million Catholics in West Germany.

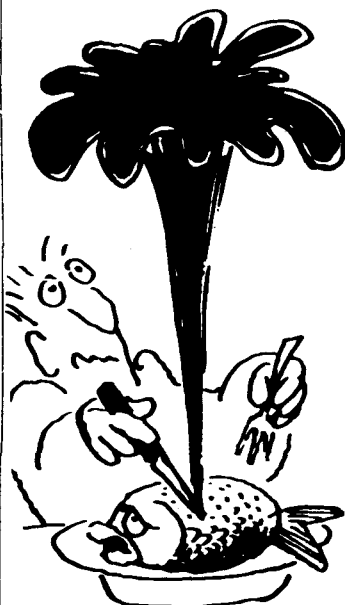
There's better news to pass on about *American Report*, fledgling weekly of Clergy and Laymen Concerned. The publication recently marked its first birthday in a strong and growing state. It has converted 19,500 of Clergy-and-Laymen's 35,000 friends into subscribers (at \$7 per annum), and is pushing toward a break-even goal of 25,000. It moved confidently into its second year with a special Kent State Supplement. Press run: 100,000 copies.

Odds and Ends

—The *Philadelphia Bulletin* reports that the archdiocese turned thumbs down on a cheese-and-wine benefit some 150 anti-establishment Catholics wanted to hold in Newman Hall on the University of Pennsylvania campus. The benefit was to be for the group's underground newspaper, *The Substandard and Times*. The name of the archdiocese's newspaper, incidentally, is *The Standard and Times*.

—The difference, if not between Catholics and Protestants, then certainly between Catholic editors and Protestant editors, is summed up for all time in the first two sentences of the new Pilgrim Press book, *Help, I've Been Fired*: "This book was born in an airport. Over a hot fudge sundae."

—Finally, a quote from Winston Moore, director of the Cook County (Ill.) Correctional Department: "Judges think it's fashionable to be lenient and liberal. If judges keep putting everyone on probation, we'll soon be out of business." JOHN DEEDY



Picha, *The Special*, Brussels

CORRESPONDENCE



Greene on Greene

Antibes

To the Editors: In his amusing article, "The Greene-ing of America" [Commonweal, Oct. 15], Mr. McInerny refers several times to a book called *The Fugitive*. I never wrote a book called *The Fugitive*. If he is referring to a film by John Ford, I had nothing to do with this film, and the film bore little resemblance to any book of mine.

GRAHAM GREENE

Notre Dame, Ind.

REPLY: I feel like the girl who said that she liked that scene in *Wuthering Heights* in which Heathcliff carries Merle Oberon to the window for a last look at the moors. I certainly was not suggesting that Ford had a better idea. The novel in question is correctly called either *The Labyrinthine Ways* or *The Power and the Glory*. I trust that what I said about the novel does not make me a wetback in Greenland.

RALPH MCINERNY

Reforming New Haven

Madison, Conn.

To the Editors: In regard to the article "How Reformers Bombed in New Haven" [Sept. 17], the inaccuracies (which incidentally include the title) are too numerous to list separately. It is obvious that the writer, Dennis Hale, does not now live in New Haven nor did he live in New Haven during most of Mayor Richard C. Lee's administration. Mayor Lee did indeed manage to attract a coalition of liberal democrats, Yale intellectuals and businessmen. However, interestingly enough, he also managed to attract a majority of working class whites and inner city blacks, as any careful analysis of voting results of working class and predominately black wards will easily disclose. Even in the last election in which Mayor Lee ran, and which he won by a sizable major-

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POLITICS AND POLLUTION

The White House denied a report the other day that the administrator of the Environmental Protection Administration, William D. Ruckelshaus, had submitted his resignation to President Nixon. The denial was so emphatic as to suggest that the report was merely the mischievous work of the inquiring newsman. On the other hand, there was a real believability about the report, as if it should have been true even though it was not. For the reports cropped up together with news of the Administration's opposition to the water pollution control bill, which the Senate thought well enough of to pass 86 to 0. This bill would set 1985 as the deadline for cleansing all the nation's navigable waters, and is precisely the sort of measure that any Environmental Protection Administrator would want. It is the sort of bill, too, one would expect to be embraced by a President who had dedicated the decade of the '70s to rescuing the environment. But Richard Nixon is a special kind of environmentalist. "There are some parts of the program we feel should be discussed more extensively," said White House press secretary Ziegler. "The basic concern of the Administration is that there should be public hearings . . ."

Of course this was pure sham. The Senate bill was unacceptable because it was sponsored by a Democratic frontrunner for the Presidency, Edmund Muskie. Richard Nixon was once again playing games with pollution, and once again environmentalists—Mr. Ruckelshaus among them, presumably—had reason to suspect that they were being led down a garden path of promises. There were three major disappointments in a relatively few days' time: the reversal of policy with respect to laundry detergents, the nuclear experiment at Amchitka, then the hedging on water-pollution control. It was enough to make anyone despair that Mr. Nixon's political and economic precommitments could ever be aligned so as to enable him to make an unqualified decision in behalf of the environment.

And still it would be one thing if it were only a case of twisted priorities and partisan politics. But the Administration appears also to be playing loose with the law it proudly, if cynically, claims as its own, and by which it is no less bound: the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969. This is an

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inescapable implication of the dissents of Justices Douglas, Brennan and Marshall to the Supreme Court's refusal to grant an injunction blocking the Amchitka test. All three justices, in two separate position papers, raised the question whether Sec. 102(C) of the Act regarding impact had been complied with according to law.

The Administration won its Amchitka gamble, and, because no one looks sillier than doomsayers whose forecasts do not materialize, environmentalists are back on the defensive. Their next environmental challenge is not going to be an easy one to win—unless key individuals like Mr. Ruckelshaus and his counterpart in the President's Council on Environmental Quality, Russell E. Train, assume the strong advocacy roles that should in fact be theirs. They can only do this if they cease to function primarily as political creatures of a President who is ambivalent at best about saving the environment.



Go, And Synod No More

The third Synod of bishops has ended in utter confusion and bitter frustration. The bishops have left empty-handed: not even their final declarations have reached the public, for on the last day they were told they were not supposed to address themselves to the priests or to the world (on which assumption they had been working all along), but only to the Pope as his private advisers. The weaknesses of the institution have come to light more clearly than ever before. What went wrong with the Synod? Just about everything that could go wrong. An absolute lack of discussion technique, an absurd order of procedure, two topics too vast for the available time, but most of all the bishops themselves, chosen for all sorts of qualities, except for being the natural leaders of their people, even their own priests, and when they try to describe the problems of non-bishops, the result is unrecognizable. And if they seem to have more to say about justice and injustice in the world, it is because there they deal with institutions, systems, ideologies.

On Sept. 30, in his opening speech in the Sistine Chapel, Pope Paul warned the bishops against outside pressure and told them to follow their conscience, "responsible before the judgment of the last day." The eyes of his audience went to the famous fresco behind his back, where Michelangelo had condemned churchmen to hell, though for other reasons than open-mindedness. The next day Cardinal Wyszynski struck the same note even more energetically: he spoke of bishops who, "in search of popularity," pass secret documents to the press, and admonished his colleagues not to give interviews to journalists or otherwise to introduce "the insane habits of parliamentary democracy" into the church.

Thus the stage was set for an entirely aseptic opera-

tion. Shielded from the outside world, many bishops found the "crisis" less ugly than it had looked at home. They agreed on the diagnosis put before them, that the crisis of the priesthood was a crisis of faith, affecting only a minority and caused by outside agents, mainly the mass media. The press, as bishops see it, does not register crises, but creates them by blowing up and generalizing the problems of some restless individuals. This being settled to the apparent satisfaction of a majority, the Synod turned to the incongruous task of teaching the Pope some doctrinal principles he had never expressed the slightest doubt on: the essential difference between the ministerial priesthood and that of the faithful, the theological convenience of celibacy, etc. The desperate pleas of some bishops, to start from the life of the church and from the real problems, to see whether theological conclusions could be drawn from them, could not stop the endless stream of boring declarations. Their interventions, like all others, fell without echo into the bottomless pit, improperly called the "Synod debate." Even motions of order, like Cardinal Doepfner's proposal, later in the proceedings, to have a secret vote on celibacy, were simply left unanswered.

Celibacy, though proclaimed by most bishops a secondary question, came to overshadow all other problems. In fact, it became a test case for the openness of the church leadership, for its courage in trying new approaches, for its capacity to listen to the voices from below, from what continues to be called the "people of God." As all the world knows, the Synod did not pass the test. Not—let me add at once—because it left the present law untouched and practically closed the door to the ordination of married men, but because of the incredibly low level of its argumentations. They were dominated by suspicion and *fear*: fear of the consequences, fear that the slightest change in the law would mean the end of celibacy in the Western church, fear even that the holiness of the priesthood would be "contaminated" by marriage, as one bishop put it. There were overt contradictions in the arguments, as the case demanded: first it was said that celibacy is already optional (for nobody is forced to become a celibate priest), then that making it optional would mean its extinction; in the theological part the uniqueness of the priestly ministry was underlined, in the practical part it turned out that practically everybody could take over most priestly tasks. The Irish Cardinal Conway got his laugh when he said that most supporters of married clergy were probably praying: "Not for us, Lord, not for us"—but it sounded as an insult to those of his colleagues who, either out of need or for serious theological reasons, had earnestly pleaded for the possibility of ordaining married men.

As the final vote drew near, I asked Cardinal Suenens whether he thought the minority should draw up a separate document, if the official one in no way reflected their thought. He answered that all depended on how

clear the questions were on which they would have to vote. In his last intervention on justice, he begged the majority, in the name of justice, not to impose their opinions on their brothers with different needs and views. When the text was at last rushed through, with no time for discussion or serious amendments, this was precisely what happened. The questions were anything but clear, but the minority quietly complied. Instead of moral unanimity, the result was only the more uncertain and confusing.

The discussion on justice in the world was undoubtedly of a higher quality. Bishop Carter of Canada was right when he said that it is one thing to discuss justice among fellow-bishops in an affluent country, and other to hear those prophetic voices from other parts of the world. This prophetic tone was not entirely reflected, however, in the final document. Its theology is a good deal more challenging than that on the priesthood; some of its practical conclusions, on international and ecumenical cooperation for development, etc., are excellent; it also denounces some of the major ills of the modern world (armaments, pollution, discrimination, etc.), but does not name any concrete situations of injustice, as several bishops had asked. Among the reasons given for this silence were the impossibility of naming them all, the difficulty of determining where concrete injustice lies, and the danger that some bishops might get in trouble at home. These considerations are certainly less prophetic than some of the fine interventions by men like Archbishop Dumont of Rhodesia, who accused their own governments of injustice and did not seem to bother about the consequences.

As for the American bishops, they denounced the armaments race as one of the major causes of international injustice, but did not name any culprits. Vietnam was not mentioned in their interventions, except for a passing allusion to countries which do not release their prisoners of war. But they did point to the scandalous difference between the expenses for military ends and for education and social welfare in the U.S., and Cardinal Krol did defend the right of conscientious objection, either to all wars or to a particular war. On the whole, there was a striking difference with the last session of the Council, when scores of U.S. bishops lobbied frantically (and successfully) against a condemnation of nuclear arms possession, and a strong approbation for conscientious objectors. Something has changed in the church during these years, but not the rules of Vatican diplomacy. The Secretariat of State will go on denouncing governments for the closing of Catholic schools, the expropriation of church property and the like, but not for torturing prisoners, discrimination, or selling arms to underdeveloped countries.

There is, as several bishops observed, a credibility gap here, which the Synod document did too little to bridge. The same applies to the chapter on justice within the

church, which is a good deal weaker than some of the interventions had led to expect. The request that church authorities on all levels should publish their accounts, was quietly dropped. And from reading the document one certainly never gets the idea that any individual has ever been treated unjustly by the church. However, here an important point was made, which may well turn out to be the major result of this Synod: the responsibility of women in the church. When Cardinal Flahiff, in his intervention on the priesthood, spoke about the possibility of ordaining women, he took the bishops by surprise. His suggestion that the question be studied by a mixed commission got little support and left no trace in the final document. But it was taken up again during the discussion on justice, under the slightly different (and less explosive) angle of equal rights within the church, and here it was accepted. But the suggestion that the commission should report its findings to the next Synod was amended away at the final vote.

Some people are wondering whether there will be a next Synod. And the poor show of these past weeks has certainly discredited the institution in its present form. But, as one superior general said when the Synod was over, "nobody could stop the machinery"—and this would apply, not only to the procedure set in motion on Sept. 30, but also to the institution in itself. Once it exists, the Synod cannot be abolished, and one may even wonder whether it can be improved. But the Pope thinks it can, and has asked the bishops to send in their suggestions. Fr. Schillebeeckx has spoken of a "built-in censorship," consisting in the tacit assumptions that moral unanimity should be reached on all points, and that true collegiality means an overall agreement with the expressed views of the Holy See. It was this censorship, more than the stern silent presence of Pope Paul at nearly all sessions, which has paralyzed the Synod's freedom of action. As long as the Synod does not get a clear responsibility of its own, it seems impossible to overcome this essential flaw.

Now the Synod is over. The bishops have gone home, with nothing to show for their five weeks' discussion other than their own fatigue. The results of their work are in the hands of the Pope and he alone must decide, "for the well-being of the whole church of God." Is this the only possible conclusion? Or should the Christians in the world, priests and laymen, who perhaps expected an answer to their problems from the Synod, at last convince themselves that the answers will not come from above, that they have to find them for themselves, for the Spirit is where *they* are, and the church will be what *they* will make of it now? Is the well-being of the church perhaps in *their* hands? These are the questions the Synod has left us with and we had better start finding an answer soon.

HENRY TEN KORTENAAR

(*Henry ten Kortenaar is Commonweal's regular correspondent in Rome.*)

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FROM A distance we could see a crowd milling around the door of the auditorium, and we wondered whether we would get seats. Up close we realized that it was a picket-line. The picketers marched round and round. The signs they carried read "Rome Yes! Küng No!" and "Hans Küng—Heretic Priest" and "Dr. Küng—Shut Up" and "Viva Pope Paul VI—down Hans Küng!" There was even a sound truck and a well-dressed gentleman explaining over the speaker that in the 5th century the something council of something had declared, in effect, Hans Küng anathema.

Anathema! Ah, what a word to bring on waves of nostalgia. I thought of 1963 and the Great Hans Küng Victory Tour. In city after city, even his most fervent supporters could not believe the crowds that welled up to hear the author of *Council, Reform and Reunion*. The vast auditorium of Chicago's McCormick Center was packed, the patches of clerical black making the whole look like the world's greatest living crossword puzzle. Outside were parked the buses and station wagons which had brought people, and seminarians especially, from a hundred miles around. That was not a lecture, no more in Chicago than elsewhere; it was a rally, a celebration, with thunderclaps of applause and the shock of solidarity when what had been said in thousands of small gatherings was forthrightly proclaimed before this mass by a distinguished handsome, personable, young Swiss theologian. Hans Küng Superstar.

It seems impossible that that naive enthusiasm dates from only eight years ago. Eight years, however, which have probably seen more change on a worldwide scale in the church than any other eight years in church history. The Synod has played itself out in Rome with all the apparent significance of a mock UN session put on by high school seniors; the best anyone says for it is that it was "educational." It would be dramatic and

THE RETURN OF THE HERO

PETER STEINFELS

touching and emblematic of the current mood of discouragement to report that, meanwhile, in New York, Hans Küng was lecturing to a half-empty hall.

But it wouldn't be true. The audience at Columbia University the other day was not the tidal wave of 1963, but it did fill the auditorium. No one cheered or leaped to his feet when Küng prefaced his talk with a catalogue of the reforms still to be undertaken by the church, but they laughed when he quipped "I only wanted to show I had not forgotten these things." They laughed when he mentioned the need to limit the term of episcopal office. "Not too short—a nice liturgical number—perhaps the number seven." He was optimistic about the movement for freedom in the church and good-natured about the harassment of his works. ("Having written this terrible book, I must say that I am surviving.") and the audience chuckled. Our common heritage.

Küng's topic was "Jesus Christ, Challenge of the Church" and that, too, marked the change from 1963, the shift from questions of church reform to the fundamental questions of the faith. "What remains after all the changes? What is the unique contribution of the Christian, the affirmation which distinguished him from other men of good will?"—the questions have often enough been asked by conservatives, said Küng, which makes them no less legitimate. His answer, of course, was that a Christian was "a person who acknowledges this Jesus as ultimately decisive for his own life." But what Jesus? The one of revolution, of the establishment, of Broadway, of sentiment? Küng's answer to that question will not be

summarized here, because it can't be; perhaps more important, anyway, is his confidence it could be answered.

Küng's talk was reconciliatory in a way, a search for common ground between liberals and conservatives. One is tempted to see a little politics in all this, as though Küng tours the precincts and mends fences when he gets in trouble. The openness of the man speaks against such an interpretation, and he does not budge on his basic demands for reform.

Küng was followed at the microphone by Avery Dulles, dry and pedantic, it seemed at first while he decorated Küng's talk with the usual academic compliments, but gradually building into a whirl of questions about Küng's theological position. He tossed them in from every direction, from Gregory Baum's criticism that Küng's Christological emphasis risked a "rhetoric of exclusion" to the Right's jackpot question of why Küng remained a Catholic. Küng fielded deftly, but here was another change from 1963. The assumption of a new maturity. Even heroes get their grilling; the rallies are over.

And yet not quite over. The mood at the talk seemed to me one of optimism, of excitement—and, God knows, that was not a projection of my own feelings. Küng addressed a special closing word to "my brethren in the ministry and to all who have responsibility in the church: stay and fight, stay and fight." Dulles twitted him: is your only reason for staying to fight? Don't underestimate my enjoyment in fighting, Küng seemed to say in reply. If humor is any sign of the presence of the spirit, those inside the hall had it all over those outside.

"We have done everything possible in the last 2000 years to corrupt the truth of the church," said Küng, commenting on his book on infallibility, "and we have not succeeded." Perhaps, I thought, the same can be said for our eight years' effort to make a hash of renewal.

MR. NIXON'S REACTIONARY REVOLUTION



Our conservative Republican President has placed radical issues on society's agenda

MICHAEL HARRINGTON

On August 15 of this year when Richard Nixon announced the wage-price freeze, the United States turned a corner in its economic, political and social life. Things will never again be the same.

In what follows I propose to focus upon the larger implications of this momentous event rather than examine the details of Phase II of the Nixon program. Our conservative Republican President has, I believe, placed radical issues on the agenda of the society: his policies will politicize the nation and the workers in particular; it makes our outrageous maldistribution of income much more transparent and therefore invites proposals to change it; and it could lead to a dangerous new form of corporatism or a vast mass movement for structural change in the economy.

It is one of those ironies of history that my old mentor, Karl Marx (and his old mentor, Hegel) would have loved. A most ideological President who is a devotee of Milton Friedman's free market theory is forced by events to adapt *dirigiste* means to his own conservative ends. In the immediate aftermath of his stunning apostasy in August it seemed that the President had shrewdly caught his opponents off balance by taking over their techniques to further his own purposes, above all his own reelection. But in the longer run I suspect it may develop that Mr. Nixon was being used as a pawn by the cunning of history, that he has set forces in motion which he simply cannot control.

First of all, consider the magnitude of the policy change the President has wrought.

When he took office, Nixon was committed to classic

free market policies. He would trade off a little unemployment, say a national rate of 6 percent, for a dramatic decrease in inflation and he would tighten up money and credit. The scenario did not work: both inflation and unemployment increased and the stock market came tumbling down. So the President, after about a year and a half of failure, declared himself a Keynesian. He committed himself to the notion of a "full employment budget," a delicate way of rationalizing the fact that he was to run a whopping deficit of the kind that he had always denounced. But even with this transformation there was solace for the old believers. Nixon had scrupulously refused to get into the terrible business of setting wages and prices. The traumas he was said to have suffered as a member of the Office of Price Administration during World War II—when he was an employee of John Kenneth Galbraith—were keeping him from that point of no return.

In mid-summer Mr. Nixon apparently realized that, traumas or not, his new Keynesianism was still permitting politically intolerable rates of inflation and depression. So he took a step beyond the New Economics and the wage-price guidelines of the Kennedy-Johnson years and opted for a 90-day freeze to be followed by federal regulation of the economy. This did not, as will be seen, put him to the "Left" of the Kennedy-Johnson policies; it did not even mean that he had co-opted the tactics of his liberal foes. For if the techniques adopted by Nixon resembled those advocated by the more radical Democratic economists, like Galbraith, they were subordinated to the impeccably conservative ends of maximizing the power of the rich and the corporations.

But before going into the reactionary use of tools invented by liberals and radicals, I want to note a few of

MICHAEL HARRINGTON is most recently the author of *The Democratic Left*.

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the long-range consequences of the President's policy shift. What Mr. Nixon has done is to politicize the economy and that is going to affect the entire society and might help remove the President from office.

Labor and Social Change

Contrary to the various academics and journalists who spilled so much ink in recent years describing the disappearance of the American working class, the labor movement has been, and is, the massive, decisive force for domestic social change. That was particularly obvious in 1968 when, after the South and a portion of the Eugene McCarthy movement abandoned Humphrey, the trade unionists nearly elected him President. It was also plain in 1970 when labor support was crucial for many liberal Democrats, particularly for the doves who were opposed to George Meany's position on the war. But there was a contradictory aspect to this working-class liberalism. When one approached the worker individually, by means of a poll, the data showed that personal commitment to labor political action was declining even as the organized involvement of his class was increasing mightily.

Mr. Nixon, I think, has now worked to resolve that contradiction. He has taught individual workers, say those hundreds of thousands of members of the UAW who went out on a hard strike last year and may, or may not, get the gains they won, that there is an immediate relationship between economic and political policy which affects them in a most personal way. In the process Nixon may turn out to be the best agitator that COPE and the other union organizations seeking voluntary political contributions and activity have ever had.

I would generalize the point. The President has taken a giant step in the direction of making the entire economy, and not just wages and prices, much more transparent. It has been the special genius of capitalism that its injustices were supposed to be the unavoidable consequence of the workings of impersonal forces. In this myth the corporate executive and the worker both had to submit to the laws of the market. Therefore to suggest that society impose its own values upon the economy was dangerous, for it involved tinkering with a marvelous mechanism which automatically vectored a myriad of private greeds into a common good but only on the condition that it be left alone.

Now Mr. Nixon has been forced to abandon this very effective ideological defense of the status quo. Wages, prices and even profits, he has admitted, are a fit subject for governmental decision and the free market simply does not fulfill its mythic functions. Moreover the President has made this historic shift in such a way as to emphasize its profound implications. For in his August 15 proposals the President was obviously engaging in reactionary Keynesianism—or, more precisely, reactionary

post-Keynesianism. He was urging, George Meany and the AFL-CIO Executive Council thundered, princely relief for corporations, a pittance for consumers and an IOU on an income floor for the poor. In theory this would aid everybody in the society, for the benefits of increased production and jobs would eventually "trickle down" to the masses. In fact, as the trade unionists emphasized, this was a program of "socialism for the rich."

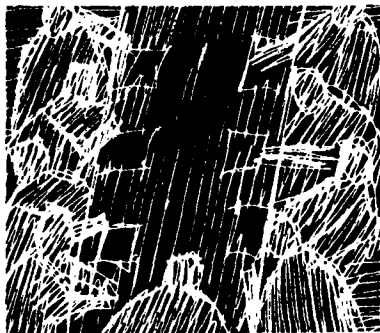
This debate between the AFL-CIO (and the UAW and Teamsters) and the President was not, of course, carried on in socialist terms. That would be contrary to the rhetorical etiquette of the society. But it cannot be understood, I would argue, apart from the social class considerations which undergirded the opposing positions. The unions were, and are, for governmental action which will promote the common good by stimulating the purchasing power and meeting the social needs of the great mass of people. That is the political economy of the working class in the post-Keynesian era. The President was, and is, in favor of a federal intervention which will first and foremost aid the corporate rich and then reach out to the rest of the economy.

Such a confrontation brings very radical questions of economic structure into the very center of public discussion. In late October, for instance, the *New York Times* quoted a very perceptive remark by Bobby Ross, the recording secretary and organizer of Local 346 of the Butcher Workers Union in Columbus, Ohio. "They spoke of 5-6 percent wage increases," Ross said. "Well in the building trades where the rate is \$8-10 an hour, 5 percent is a decent wage increase. But for people making \$2 an hour it isn't much. They'll just fall behind." That is a shrewd assessment of the class bias inherent in guidelines, but it can be made even more explicit. The building tradesmen have seasonal work and, on the average make only about a thousand dollars more a year than the typical factory worker. But the executives in the \$50,000 a year and up class are indeed in very good shape under such guidelines (and since a significant portion of their income comes from dividends, which are not controlled at all, things for them are even better than they first seem).

In short, Mr. Nixon's policies are going to start people thinking about a taboo subject: the distribution of income in the United States. There has been no progressive change in the shares of income for a generation (since World War II). And when you examine the distribution of wealth rather than income the proportions become even more obviously anti-social. As Herman Miller, the statistical specialist at the Bureau of the Census, figured the portions in the revised edition of his *Rich Man, Poor Man*, the 6½ percent of consumer units in America at the end of 1962 with wealth of more than \$50,000 owned 57 percent of the society; the less than ½ percent with wealth of over \$500,000 accounted for 22 percent of the total. At the other end of the scale the

61 percent of the units with less than \$10,000 in wealth owned slightly under 7½ percent of our riches. One half percent possesses three times as much as 61 percent!

I stress these incredible figures because even the trade unionist in Ohio thinks a building tradesman is affluent. In fact, a minority of American society is affluent, another and larger minority is poor, and the majority are below the modest but adequate budget as computed by the federal government. Under such circumstances when the President makes the issue of income political, as he has done, he invites proposals to change the distribution of wealth itself. The clear implication in Bobby Ross' comment on the guidelines is that the federal policy should be designed to positively help people getting \$2 an hour. Rather than adopting a policy like the one urged by Mr. Nixon, which "freezes" the inequities of the society and proposes that all of us, the very rich and the very poor, advance at the same pace, people are going to demand that need be taken into account.



Throughout American history government action, including the welfare state, has done more for the wealthy than for the rest of the society. By making at least part of this process much more transparent, Mr. Nixon has opened up the very real possibility that the nation will debate the entire issue for the first time since the '30s. That tendency is certainly implicit, and even more and more explicit, in the trade union critique of his actions.

However, I don't want to imply that history is now lurching Left at the behest of a Republican President and that there are no problems. For one thing, Mr. Nixon's reactionary post-Keynesianism has the power of the Presidency behind it and might even produce enough results to blunt the criticism of the intolerable price we are paying for them. For another, there is a tendency in society—and quite possibly in the labor movement—which could subvert many of my hopeful projections. I call it the new corporatism.

The notion that people should be represented, not as citizens, but as members of occupational or other categories has a long history which reaches back in both the Right and the Left. It provided the rationale for the sham "participation" under Mussolini and Franco; it was a central demand of revolutionary syndicalists including the Industrial Workers of the World in the Uni-

ted States. In recent years, in part because of theorizing about direct forms of democracy on the part of Left-wing intellectuals, it has had a revival in this country. Racial and ethnic minorities, women, students, youth and a host of other groups—or at least their self-appointed spokesmen—have been demanding corporate recognition.

The politicization of the economy might intensify this trend in the labor movement. One response to the new conditions would be to raise national questions of income distribution; another would be to parochialize the trade union struggle. Under the latter possibility workers would simply maximize their own individual interest on a plant- or industry-wide level and forget about the other members of their class and the rest of the nation. Under those circumstances the strongest unions would be able to protect themselves against the reactionary thrust of Nixon's post-Keynesianism, but they would be unconcerned if the burden were then shifted to the poorly organized, the unorganized and those living in poverty. There could even be battles between unions in this scenario. (A dispute between the Longshoremen and the Teamsters over which organization will have jurisdiction over the declining number of jobs brought about by containerization, i.e., which union will suffer unemployment, is certainly an element in the West Coast strike.)

Clearly society would lose under such conditions. And happily the present tendency, as expressed in the fight between the unions and the President over the details of Phase II, is for labor to take a class rather than a narrow point of view. That points, I believe, toward a conclusion which most trade unionists have not yet accepted and which many would oppose. It suggests the need of an incomes policy.

I am completely in sympathy with the labor critique of the Kennedy-Johnson guidelines: that they assumed the essential fairness of the existing class structure and proposed that millionaires and factory workers should demonstrate the same restraint in bettering their living standards. Indeed one of the reasons that incomes policies are opposed by many trade unionists all around the world is that when they have been adopted they have tended to exact much more sacrifice from the mass of working people than from the corporate rich. That, however, need not be, particularly if one can assume the existence of a politically aware and militant labor movement. From Gompers to the present, American unionists have had a certain distrust of state action and a fierce regard for the power of collective bargaining. (Gompers' "voluntarism" was, for that matter, an Amer-

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ican version of French revolutionary syndicalism.) I think that has to change now.

Economic decision-making is, for the foreseeable future, going to be overtly political. The unions have quite rightly taken up the challenge of the President's reactionary post-Keynesianism. But must the struggle be waged defensively? Rather than confining oneself to fighting against Nixon's attempt to use the government's power on behalf of the rich, can't one insist that Washington should intervene positively on behalf of the poor and the workers? That latter proposition is inherent in some of the actions already taken by the labor movement. It should be made more explicit.

The case of profits is a case in point. The AFL-CIO has rightly pointed out that the controls over wages are very explicit and, in the case of big industries, relatively easy to enforce. The restrictions on prices are much less compelling and, after considerable struggle on the part of labor, all that Mr. Nixon would say about profits is that they should be curbed when they reach "windfall" levels. In this setting George Meany's proposal for an excess-profits tax is clearly in the interests of the great majority of the American people and raises fundamental questions about income distribution and social equity. I would take it one step further.

Profits are a very slippery category, one that can be manipulated by management. We have heard much in recent months from business that profits are very low. But when one looks at corporate cash flow, as the *Wall Street Journal* did recently, the picture changes dramatically. Between the third quarter of 1969 and the second quarter of 1971 profits fell from \$43 billion to \$39.2 billion and then rose to \$46 billion. That is the uncertain, gloomy trend the executives talk so much about. But in the same period depreciation funds—the cash the big companies set aside for their own needs—rose steadily from \$51.9 billion to \$64 billion and cash flow (profits plus depreciation) climbed from \$94.9 billion to \$110 billion. As an analyst at Chase Manhattan Bank put it, "profits backed by heavy depreciation funds are worth more than profits that are not." So while business was trying to convince us that we should be solicitous because things were going badly it was actually improving its position.

The relevant point here is that if one simply has an excess-profits tax, that is most certainly going to be an incentive for companies to hide or disguise profits, i.e., to channel them into retained savings for future investment as in this case. That would mean that there would be an increase in the wealth of the holders of corporate stock but one which would not show up in the profits column. So ultimately if there is to be an effective defense against Nixon's reactionary post-Keynesianism and an effective offense to transform the structural inequities of the society, it is necessary to deal with income as such. That means having an overall policy designed to

shift the shares of income somewhat; that means above all increasing the progressivity of the federal income tax and drastically tightening up inheritance taxes. That is extremely difficult to do since tax laws are a maze designed by talented lawyers and accountants to help their clients, and every time one loophole is being plugged up two more are usually being created. But even so, Nixon's challenge requires that we take on this difficult assignment.

So the implications of the August 15 decision are deep and ranging. We are certainly going to have a politicization of the labor movement; we are already discussing issues of income distribution that have been dormant for a generation. However, it is possible that the new situation will inspire a vast increase in corporatism in the society and that each group will try to protect its position without thought of, or at the expense of, the rest of the people. The happier possibility, and thus far it is the one which has been at work in the labor movement, is that the moment will be seized as an opportunity for initiating a positive incomes policy which will attack the scandal of maldistributed wealth in America.

If that latter trend proceeds apace, Richard Nixon will have earned a place, alongside Herbert Hoover, as an unwitting agent of radical change.



DAVID HAGEN

ON THE TABLE,

a mustard jar
an empty glass
a piece of torn foil.

The table
circular,
brown.

The light bulb
a pale sun.

When the muscles of the eye
relax,
shifting to the jar,
the light on the foil,
fuzzing at the edges,
expands,
reaching thin fingers
across the space
of the table,
 touching
perhaps
 the empty glass.

VIETNAM AFTER THE ELECTION



Is Thieu losing his Catholic support?

TOM FOX

"The Capital of Saigon was quite deserted early on Presidential election day. Well-armed members of public forces could be seen everywhere. Pedestrians were very rare. Only a few shops were open. The Lower House looked as lonely and cold as a brothel on a rainy day. The Independence Palace was surrounded by rows and rows of barbed wire. Voting stations were quite deserted. Only a few voters were seen going in and out. About 11 o'clock President Thieu and his wife came to the City Hall to cast their votes for the President's own slate."

—CONG LUAN, October 4, 1971

This is the way one Vietnamese journalist described Saigon for his Saigon readers the day they went to the polls to cast their ballots for President Thieu's "Democratic" slate—or to throw them away in protest against his candidacy.

To most diplomats, observers and reporters the city indeed looked very quiet throughout the day. It then came as a shock to most foreigners here when Vietnam's bright, new election headquarters located in the midst, surprisingly enough, of one of Saigon's largest bar districts, came forth with the following results:

Saigon:

Percent of total voters to vote—76.51

Percent of voters to vote for Nguyen

Van Thieu—83.6

"It is a bit embarrassing," an American official confided. "I just didn't believe he would do it," another said. "Sure I figured he'd win 60 or 70 percent of the vote, but this is too much." The comments were typical of most diplomats and officials in Vietnam. Only the loudness of their comments varied.

As if not satisfied, the government kept creeping up as the days passed. Two weeks after the election, 88.03 percent of all registered voters were said to have voted and of these, no less than 94.36 percent voted for Nguyen Van Thieu. Some provincial figures showed that the President had won over 99 percent of the vote.

I spent election Sunday in Hanoi hamlet, a settlement 20 miles northeast of Saigon, of North Vietnamese Catholics who came south in 1954. By late afternoon

several voting officials expressed disappointment to me that less than 50 percent of the eligible voters had come to vote. Since the period after morning Mass and the mid-day siesta hours were to have been the times when most voters were to cast their ballots, the officials were settling for a 50 to 60 percent voters' turnout. I noticed that most Vietnamese who voted in Hanoi hamlet were over 40, with a surprising number of voters in their 60's and 70's. All Catholics in that hamlet went to Mass in the newly constructed Hanoi church that morning, but the older Catholics were the ones who took most seriously the counsel of their pastor, Father Hien, to "place the ballots in the ballot box when you vote." It was the priest's way of advising his flock to vote for the President without actually invoking Thieu's name. The older Catholics seemed to listen; the younger Catholics very often did not.

"I fought in Cambodia and Laos," one 22-year-old remarked after admitting he tore up his ballot. "My parents support Thieu. All they can talk about is the way life was with the Communists in North Vietnam over 15 years ago. But they do not have to fight like I do. I can never vote for Thieu." His remark was not uncommon among the young whose support for Father Hien and the Thieu government seemed to falter.

In view of the attitude of many of the young Catholics and the disappointment that voting officials in Hanoi hamlet expressed, I was surprised to learn that, according to official results, 99.9 percent of the voters in the hamlet voted that day. A similar figure voted for the single Thieu slate. As I spot-checked waste receptacles provided by the voting officials for anti-Thieu votes, I found several score ballots in each basket. Simple arithmetic made the official figures impossible.

It is quite probable, however, that the greater majority of the countryside's population did vote, and voted for Thieu. They were under considerable pressure to do so. Polling places in all villages were surrounded by Vietnamese police and secret agents. In theory, they were to keep the Viet Cong from breaking up the election. Peasants, who associate the police primarily with the Phoenix program, did not see them as protectors of their safety, however. "Why am I voting?" a 43-year-old mother of five remarked after jumping out of a three-wheel Lambretta at a village voting station. "I'm voting because I've been told to vote . . . And I want to

TOM FOX, who has lived and worked in Vietnam for several years, is now associated with the Saigon bureau of the New York Times.

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avoid trouble." Her comment was as common as the bamboo of Vietnamese villages.

Each voter needed to have his yellow card, with his name neatly printed on it by American computers, stamped and cut. Failure to do so could make one suspect, and in Vietnam to be suspect of sympathy towards the Viet Cong can get a peasant "neutralized," that is, captured or assassinated by the American-supported Phoenix program. An American commented, "With all those police, officials and secret agents around, do you think a peasant is going to tear up his ballot while he's in his booth? Why, to him it would sound like an atomic bomb blast which could be heard by everyone clear to the Presidential palace." One of the highest ranking American officials in Saigon, when asked how this "democratic election" differed from the elections in Hanoi, where votes of over 90 percent for Communist slates are not uncommon, could not offer an answer.

Feelings for Thieu among South Vietnamese range from distaste to open revulsion. It is significant that a foreigner can now walk into a Vietnamese market, ask about the President and his policies, and find total strangers speaking openly in large crowds of Thieu's "dictatorial" manners. Although the Vietnamese have

never been warm towards Thieu, they are now confident enough and their feelings are popular enough to openly defy him. It is not uncommon now for a Vietnamese stranger to ask an American who speaks Vietnamese, "Do you think there is a chance for overthrow of the government?" The political opposition was not able to pull itself together into a solid political front however.

Perhaps the most significant long-range, positive development for "anti-Thieu" forces in Vietnam during the campaign was the falling out of many moderate Catholics from the "pro-Thieu" bloc. The Catholics in South Vietnam number about 1,500,000 or make up a little less than 10 percent of the total population. They command, however, one of the strongest pressure blocs in Vietnam. Thieu himself is a nominal convert to Catholicism. In the past, Catholics have been among Thieu's staunchest supporters.

Two weeks before the Presidential election about 100 well-known Catholics from both ends of the church's political spectrum burned their voting cards in front of the elegant residential headquarters of Archbishop Nguyen Van Binh, the Catholic church's ranking prelate in South Vietnam. They demonstrated to show their opposition to Thieu's unopposed candidacy and to demand

The Church's Changing Face

The room was noisy with excited voices, laughter, clapping. One young man in front was outlining the plans; twenty or so others were reacting with approval, modifications, suggestions. The place—Saigon; the people—young Catholic college students; the situation—a strategy meeting determining demonstration tactics and various American properties to be destroyed; the time—the frantic, almost desperate days before Mr. Thieu's recent democratic charade. As I shared the excitement of this meeting with these young Catholics, I realized more strongly what I already knew: the Catholic church in South Vietnam is changing and its future certainly "isn't what it used to be."

Ever since the far distant days of the Geneva Accord and the flight of thousands of refugees before the forces of Ho Chi Minh, the Catholic church in the South has been almost monolithic in its fear of the North, hatred of the Communists, involvement in the war against Communist aggression, and support of the American-backed, anti-Communist regimes of, first, Diem, and then, Thieu. Support there still is, but the monolith is cracking and gives increasing promise of crumbling—as the days under

Thieu's dictatorship lengthen in suffering and oppression, and as the interminable war moves inexorably toward a final tearing apart of the moral/social/cultural fabric of the Vietnamese people.

We were in Saigon—three priests and a Jewish layman—to protest against the American-backed, American-continued war, against American interference and involvement in the internal affairs of South Vietnam, such as has been painfully obvious in our on and off maneuverings with the regimes of Diem and Thieu. We came, not on our own, but at the behest of a growing segment of the Catholic church in Saigon that is with mounting determination and finality engaging in the fight to free their country from the dictatorship of Thieu and the presence of a manipulating American influence. The request had been for a bishop and ten priests; after approaching ten bishops and thirty priests (all in some fashion doves and critics of the war), we had to settle for the four of us. But the significant thing is not the American response, or lack thereof, but the Vietnamese Catholic request. Their purpose was to demonstrate to their own people in as dramatic a manner as they could—before the election—that being Catholic and voting for Thieu and the Nixon-Thieu war are not equatable.

The Friday before the election we priests and a few others confronted the Apostolic Delegate to South Vietnam at his residence in Saigon. The Dele-

that the Archbishop rescind an earlier bishops' statement issued July 30—before Duong Van Minh and Vice President Ky dropped from the race—which called upon Catholics to “vote in large numbers.”

Both liberal Catholics, who are a clear minority among Catholics here, and the conservative North Vietnamese Catholics, who feel an allegiance to the Northerner Ky, united in opposition to the “one-man election.” Members of the Catholic Movement for the Building of Peace and the North Vietnamese-led Greater Unity Force met with the Archbishop for a period of several days. Following the meetings the Archbishop outlined his new views in an article published in the conservative *Xay Dung* (Construction) Catholic daily. He made the following points:

—The Catholic Church has always advocated a free, clean and democratic election.

—If there is rigging and democracy is lacking, it is the duty of Catholic followers to protest in order to make the election honest;

—If the followers do their best, and the election is still not honest, then Catholic followers as well as other citizens should act according to their consciences.

The statement could hardly be considered inflammatory,

yet it was highly unusual for the Archbishop to speak out on a political issue. It was significant, too, that the Archbishop spoke out in reaction to pressure from the Catholic populace. Thieu, it is obvious, can no longer depend on Catholics for the support he has found among them in the past. Even the Vietnamese Catholic press, including the most conservative newspapers, came out against the means Thieu chose for re-election.

During the past year, while Buddhists have been factionalized between those who believe it necessary to work within the constitutional system and those who don't, Catholics have picked up much of the weight of legitimate opposition forces in Vietnam. Ngo Cong Duc has had an especially active role in opposition to the Government. His widely read newspaper, *Tin Sang* (Morning News), is the most frequently confiscated newspaper in Saigon. Run by a group of southern Catholics, *Tin Sang* is generally recognized as the mouthpiece for the opposition today.

Following the Presidential election, Ngo Cong Duc, who lost his own lower house seat in the questionable provincial elections of late August, wrote in an editorial: “Our attitude must be clear-cut. We don't recognize the election of October 3 and its results. In fact, Mr. Thieu

gate is a Belgian, not long in the country. In response to our demands his replies were at first such time-honored dodges as “the exigencies of my role”; “I have no voice of my own”; “I cannot enter into the politics of the country”; “since Vatican II we have less power, the bishops more.” Yet when faced with the great moral and physical suffering of the people, and with the complicity of the church by its silence in the brutal dictatorship of Mr. Thieu, he became a thoughtful and troubled man. By the time we left he had assured us that he would send our prepared statement to the Pope and the Synod of Bishops, that he would personally communicate to the Pope the extent of the suffering of the Vietnamese Catholics and their need for strong episcopal leadership, that he would approach the bishops of South Vietnam with their responsibility to speak out in the steadily worsening situation. Did he keep his promises? One can only trust the suffering of a basically kind and gentle man and the mounting cries of the people.

That very same afternoon a large number of Buddhist leaders gathered at the militant An Quang Pagoda in a show of opposition to Mr. Thieu and the forthcoming elections. For the first time, Catholic “progressive” leaders joined the Buddhists in a gesture of solidarity and support against a common political evil. The meeting was seen as the beginning of a new, public, ecumenical period for the Catholic

church in Vietnam, at least in its progressive wing. The future promises a growing union with the Buddhists against Thieu, a fight that will take many shapes but will soon strike out with physical violence directed not only at American property but now at American lives. The war for freedom, and war it is, is rapidly becoming a war, not against the North and the Viet Cong, but against Thieu and his American allies.

The day we left Saigon, the Tuesday following the election, I came upon a current copy of *Le Monde's* political bi-monthly. One of the lead editorials asserted how “Anti-Communist Propaganda has Diminishing Influence in Saigon.” That is true. Where once the specter of the Communist “Red Devils” was enough to make any South Vietnamese Catholic shudder, and then join in the government's war, more and more Catholics—including refugees from the North—show a lessening reaction to such a supposed threat. Why? Because the evil they have in Thieu and the Americans, they know; the possible evil of a Communist takeover they don't know; moreover, they realize such could not possibly equal the wholesale destruction of their country, their people, and their freedom that they know under Mr. Nixon and Mr. Thieu.

ROBERT J. WILLIS

(Father Robert J. Willis, a Jesuit, was one of the American protesters who recently chained themselves to the gate of the U.S. embassy in Saigon.)

will be President—but in the people's hearts, there will be no President with that name. In the new phase, the struggle of the people will be very desperate, because we will have two enemies to fight simultaneously. . . . Mr. Thieu is playing only a secondary role. He is the shield advanced to ward off swords and arrows. We must aim at the bearer of that shield. We assert that the United States is the main enemy which is dominating this country. The Vietnamese people must bear shame; Vietnam has lost the righteous cause; Vietnamese kith and kin are fighting among themselves, all this has been brought about by the Americans. The struggle in the future must be directed at the main objective. Our attitude has become even firmer since October 3, 1971."

Ngo Cong Duc flew to Paris last winter and created a mild sensation back in Vietnam, when he unveiled a peace proposal that is now barely distinguishable from the seven-point plan of the Provisional Revolutionary Government. There was some talk when he returned to Saigon from the trip that he would be sentenced and imprisoned for treason. Yet, he was not.

Duc's case exemplifies the situation among some of Vietnam's Catholics. It has been difficult for the Thieu police force to turn on Catholics primarily because a Catholic is not easily accused of "pro-Communist" sympathies. At a minimum, the Catholic community can pressure the government to lesser charges against a Catholic such as "playing into the hands of the Communists unintentionally." Such a charge is a light-year away from being charged of active membership in the Viet Cong infrastructure.

Duc has the added advantage of being a relative of Archbishop Nguyen Van Binh. A move against Duc then is a slap at the Archbishop.

Similarly, when Professor Ngyuen Van Trung, also Catholic and the head of the faculty of literature at the University of Saigon, went looking for a building to receive political prisoners released from government prisons, Caritas, a Vietnamese Catholic relief agency, was the only agency in a position to offer property. The prison reform committee headed by Trung is made up of Catholic and Buddhist leaders, as well as students and other laymen. All are very outspoken in their feelings toward the Thieu government. Yet, had the Buddhists given a room for meetings and assistance to the newly released prisoners, Professor Trung remarked, the government would have closed the building down.

Few Catholics have been more active in recent months than Professor of Philosophy at the University of Saigon, Ly Chanh Trung. Professor Trung took on the

task of being Duong Van Minh's speech writer as well as chief editorialist for Minh's newspaper *Dien Tin* (Telegram). "Vietnamese Catholics used to put their religion first followed far behind by their nationalism," Professor Trung said recently as he sat in "Big" Minh's press office. "More and more Catholics now feel that where the Vietnamese spirit is concerned, nationalism is nearly as important as religion. More Catholics are saying 'yes' to nationalism and 'no' to the Americans who oppress that sense of nationalism." Ly Chanh Trung has long been active in the Vietnamese Catholic movement for the Construction of Peace, a group made up of Catholic intellectuals, students and young priests.

Catholics who favor peace to the continuation of war generally stress the following points:

—That nationalism is still the dominating characteristic of Vietnamese in the National Liberation Front;

—That Catholics who have long sided with foreigners to protect themselves from the persecution of other Vietnamese are now secure enough in their faith to break ties with foreign nations so that their nationalism can grow with their religious beliefs.

—That the church can and must live with all other Vietnamese and is in a better position to do so now than ever before.

—That the war can only end when the Americans leave the Vietnamese to solve their own problems; the answer to the war is strictly a Vietnamese answer.

—That the longer the Americans stay in Vietnam the weaker becomes the position of the nationalists who are not allowed to assert their independence.

At the other end of the Catholic political spectrum, many leaders are growing disenchanted with the Thieu government and American policy in Vietnam. The change is bound to have long-range repercussions.

Senator Truong Tien Dat a 38-year-old Catholic refugee from North Vietnam, is one of the most active members of the Greater Unity Force which until two months ago supported successive Saigon governments. Now, however, that has changed and the Senator is a perplexed man. "I am very disappointed, very upset," he said in his home recently. "The Vietnamese people, nearly to the last one, oppose Thieu in his one-man re-election. Yet he remains . . . and with American support. I have never been anti-American. But now, I do not know what to do, what to think. Doesn't President Nixon know he has some friends here? Why is he chasing us away?"

Although the North Vietnamese Catholics remain strongly anti-Communist, they talk much more now of negotiating a settlement with North Vietnam. "To negotiate we need a strong government," Senator Dat added. "But Thieu's actions are weakening us day by day."

The former running mate on the ticket of Vice President Ky before Ky withdrew from the race was a conservative southern Catholic, Truong Vinh Le. He, too,

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now believes the time has come to negotiate a settlement to end the war. "We are now prepared to accept the idea that we must live with the Communists," Le said recently. "Vietnamese do not want to be ruled by the Communists, but we are willing to live with them." Le discarded the argument that a "bloodbath" would occur if the Communists entered the Saigon political arena. "The South Vietnamese army is strong enough to avoid any one-sided violence," he remarked.

The growing willingness among many conservative Catholics living in the South to accept a negotiated end to the war, although hardly universal, is one of the most significant changes to have occurred in Catholic political circles in recent months.

Some observers liken the situation today to that of 1963 during the last days of Ngo Dinh Diem. Like Diem, President Thieu is isolating himself increasingly from the Vietnamese populace. Like Diem, Thieu is disliked by the Vietnamese. The war, too, in some ways has gone underground with guerrilla activities on the rise in many rural areas. But unlike Diem, the Americans have made it perfectly clear to the generals here that there will be no coup d'état. A coup, the CIA has passed the word, means an end to American military aid—and no general wants that at this time.

The real source of Thieu's strength rests in the Vietnamese Army, which to date has an uneven record. It has shown at times its capacity to fight in conflict with North Vietnamese in the I Corps, the area which is central Vietnam. Yet it has relied heavily on American air support during these battles. Morale in the Vietnamese army is generally low. Discipline is lacking. The war has simply gone on too long. Recently when elements of the Vietnamese 9th Division were called up from the Mekong delta to the I Corps to reinforce ARVN units under pressure along the demilitarized zone, several battalions in the 9th Division suffered up to 80 percent desertions. The 9th Division likes the soft life of the Mekong delta, many of its officers are involved in business there.

As American forces withdraw below the 200,000 mark the ARVN units are stretching themselves more thinly throughout South Vietnam. President Thieu will face some very difficult decisions in future months, especially if the North Vietnamese want to put on added pressure.

The internal disaffection which many Vietnamese have towards the Thieu-run government, as well as actions which North Vietnamese and NLF units are likely to take against the South Vietnamese army, both should help shape the future of the South. The war is likely to continue as long as foreign aid is pumped into Vietnam, and perhaps, even a bit longer. With constant growing internal and external pressures, however, most observers here are not giving President Thieu much more than another year.

DEUX FLEURS DU MAL



THE SCREEN

In John Schlesinger's new film, *Sunday Bloody Sunday*, two people share an answering service. One is Alex Greville (Glenda Jackson), a rich young woman living alone in pseudo-Bohemian style in London. The other is Daniel Hirsch (Peter Finch), an elegant, unmarried and middle-aged physician. The opening scenes in the film are concerned with the attempts of these two people—who don't know each other—to retrieve messages from the answering service. With uncharacteristic flamboyance Schlesinger's camera tracks along the telephone company's trunk lines as Alex and Daniel are trying to get through to the service. But the message each is expecting has not been left.

While neither of them knows that they share the answering service, both know that they have something else in common: Bob Elkin (Murray Head), the wrong number whose messages they await. Although Alex and Daniel are both in love with Bob, it's hard to imagine why. John Schlesinger isn't even vaguely interested in him. For Schlesinger Bob plays, like the answering service, a purely mediate role in the film. Bob is a common denominator allowing us to compare the sensibilities of Alex and Daniel, who alone are capable of love, human relationship, etc.

Bob jilts both his lovers because he is incapable of such feelings. He is an artist who makes mechanical sculptures for American businessmen; and as far as Schlesinger is concerned, that's all there is to him. He is what his art is—mod, amoral, devoid of humanity—and nothing more. But Bob's indifferent character rubs off on Alex and Daniel too. Schlesinger can hardly expect us to believe in the sensitivity and intelligence of two people who are blind to deficiencies in Bob that we are supposed to see so readily. If Alex and Daniel can be completely fooled by this non-person, how can we take them more seriously than him?

To give credit where credit is due, I should also blame this inconsistency on Penelope Gilliatt. Schlesinger only chose to direct this script: Miss Gilliatt wrote it. Yet Schlesinger has earned his own dispraise—not only for this film, but for earlier efforts like *Darling* and *Midnight Cowboy*. He is the classic case of a director unable to overcome his training in TV. Events occurring in the background in his films are always isolated from those in the foreground by a distinct shift of camera focus. What is more telling, everything important happens in close-up, center screen. "Now watch this," Schlesinger keeps repeating with his bludgeon techniques. Since this is the only way he learned to do things, he thinks it artful. He believes that because he now deals with themes not permitted on television—homosexuality,

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for instance—he has escaped television's limitations. But photographing actors so closely that we see their pores is not a way to humanize the characters they're playing. And only a television director could deceive himself that it is.

Midway through Louis Malle's *A Murmur of the Heart*, a teenage boy slices up a Corot landscape with a knife. The painting belongs to his parents, who are looking on in horror. Their son had just the moment before been pacing about their parlor denouncing art as capitalist speculation. Unable to get a big enough rise out of his parents this way, he had gone after the painting with a devilish twinkle in his eye and the knife in his hand. The scene is one of several that might have been carried off by the sheer anarchy of the three brothers in this film. At their best they are three smutty, adolescent Marx Brothers. But before this scene even gets under way, Malle has already spoiled the laugh, as he has in the rest of the film, by being afraid of his own material.

He began overcompensating for the scene earlier in the film, when he went out of his way to have the original Corot landscape replaced with a phony. One of the boy's friends happens to be an accomplished art forger, and the friend makes a perfect copy of the landscape lest any real iconoclasm occur in this film. Moreover, the scene itself begins with the boy's announcing he has decided to go to university. Coming from someone who has enjoyed a thoroughly over-sexed, over-financed debauch throughout the film, this con-

ventionality is suspect. Here as in the earlier switch of the paintings, the concession seems to be Malle's rather than the boy's. It is Malle's ulterior motives that are served, for only he could want to put us at ease at this moment. The boy's intention is clearly the opposite. Before letting the boy commit on that alleged Corot the greatest of his numerous atrocities, Malle wants to reassure us that everything in this film is just in good fun. We must understand that, underneath it all, this kid is a respectable bourgeois.

As both scriptwriter and director of the film, Malle has approached incest with the same fear and trepidation as iconoclasm. And again he has either telegraphed or pulled all his punches. The central character in the film is Renzo (Benoit Ferreux), the younger brother of the Corot buff. Renzo is fifteen, very smart, and a little upset because his mother is having an affair. What reconciles mother and son is a "murmur of the heart" that he develops after an illness. He must go away for a rest cure; and his mama accompanies him, losing her lover during their stay but taking Renzo into her bed one night in the lover's place.

The film approaches this liaison so circumspectly, anticipating it with so many lesser, preliminary fetishes and perversions, that its consummation can only come as a relief. All the fun seems to have gone out of it by then, and all the sin too. In the end Renzo's father and brothers have an innocent laugh at Renzo's expense, and he and his mother also join in—as if nothing had happened. Unfortunately they are right: nothing had.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

BOOKS



Garbage, garbage everywhere and all the world doth stink

Third Pollution: The National Problem of Solid Waste Disposal

WILLIAM E. SMALL

Praeger, \$6.95

Defending the Environment: A Strategy for Citizen Action

JOSEPH L. SAX

Knopf, \$7.95

JEROME KRETCHMER

For a quick introduction to the garbage crisis, consider the Sunday *New York Times*. An average issue—all copies sold—will weight about 7 million pounds. It will fill 500 collection trucks and require about 1,150 man-days to haul to an incinerator. Once burned, it will send about 87,500 pounds of par-

ticulates into the air and onto the windowsill, leaving 1.75 million pounds of incinerator residue to be carted away in 100 residue trucks. Or it could be dumped into six 600-ton barges and floated to a landfill, taking up 125,000 cubic feet of fast-disappearing fill space. Collection and disposal of each Sunday

Times cost New York City's Sanitation Department, and those of neighboring communities, more than \$125,000, or about 10 cents per copy.

This is, of course, one issue of a single newspaper, and newsprint itself is only a small component of our solid waste load. New York City throws away 50 million pounds of refuse a day, and with a stable population, the figure is rising by about 4 percent a year.

Nationally, the garbage bill is nearing \$5 billion a year and will rise steeply as our landfills are used up and replaced with vastly more expensive disposal systems.

Commonweal: 208

We have, in fact, allowed yet another outrageous social priority to arise—the annual commitment of billions of dollars to collect and destroy potentially valuable materials. In New York City, one new superincinerator equals ten fully-equipped new high schools, yet there is not much of a lobby for reducing the production of solid wastes at the source so the money can go for schools and other pressing needs.

William E. Small's useful handbook makes most of the salient points: we must recycle our wastes, consume less, reorder our priorities and commit much more of our energy and resources toward a solution, or solid waste may emerge as our most expensive domestic problem within the next generation.

Mr. Small diligently records all he learned about solid wastes as a staff member of the Senate Public Works Committee. Even its title "Third Pollution," makes clear the orphan status of solid waste management compared to the more glamorous and better funded programs in air and water pollution.

As a nation, we spend only about \$500,000 on disposal research. The Bureau of Solid Wastes Management, a much-battered sector of the bureaucracy, is badly underfunded, and the Resource Recovery Act of 1970 is virtually a meaningless public relations gesture at the requested level of funding.

Our economy is set up to produce more and more per capita waste, through the spread of planned obsolescence, the mushrooming of disposables, overpackaging as a sales stimulus, and, of course, the incessant creation of unnecessary demand. Many federal laws and regulations function to discourage reuse of materials, from discriminatory freight rates for scrap metals to depletion allowances and tax advantages for the use of virgin materials. (The tax advantage which the *Times* enjoys on its forest holdings is a strong disincentive to any recycling effort, and so 60,000 trees fall to make each Sunday *Times*, while our waste load is glutted with recyclable paper.)

Clearly the tax advantage should be changed from raw materials to re-

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cycled ones. Prepaid disposal costs on consumer products would encourage recycling and discourage overpackaging. Also, governments on every level can help the growth of the recycling industry with tax write-offs and preferential purchasing of goods from used materials.

Some of Mr. Small's statistics are shaky (New York City disposes of 24,000 tons of garbage a day, not 15,000, and 73,000 abandoned cars a year, not 30,000) but his analysis is remarkably far-reaching for so short a book.

Joseph L. Sax is a prominent environmental lawyer who was instrumental in guiding a law for citizen's environmen-

tal rights through the Michigan legislature. The standing of ordinary citizens (i.e., those with no direct economic stake) to bring legal challenges against environmental outrages is still undergoing development, and Mr. Sax would naturally like to see it secured by a federal law.

Curiously, however, only a small part of the book is devoted to this argument. The work is essentially a narrow and technical plea to judges and lawyers for a more liberal use of the preventive injunction in environmental cases.

As Mr. Sax sees it, bureaucrats in the administrative agencies are hopelessly inadequate to the needs of environmental protection because of political pressures, "an insider mentality," and a lack of power, staff and funds.

He seems to think that right now, only the courts can exert a meaningful check on the bureaucrats. When an injunction is sought, Mr. Sax would have judges go beyond traditional procedural analysis to enforce a public right to sound environmental planning. In practice this would mean considering whether alternatives have been adequately explored and environmental planning considered. If not, the judge considering the matter would remand the case to the appropriate agency for another look.

However, in the Storm King case, the court did exactly this, with no very different result. The Federal Power Commission approved the pump-storage electric-generating facility at the Hudson River site that environmentalists wanted protected. The court remanded the case to the FPC to consider all possible alternatives, after which the commission, to no one's surprise, approved the plan once again.

The court and commission did everything Mr. Sax recommends in this book, but it had no effect on the "insider mentality" at all. If we are left with the bureaucrats, even at the end of Mr. Sax's plan, it seems we are stuck with the alternative he rejected in the first place: try to reform and restructure the agencies.

Ireland Since the Famine

F. S. L. LYONS

Scribner's \$17.50

Governing Without Consensus

RICHARD ROSE

Beacon Press, \$12.50

Ireland's English Question

PATRICK O'FARRELL

Schocken, \$11.50

SEAN CRONIN

The "Irish Question" first took shape 800 years ago last month when Henry II of England landed in Ireland with 4,000 knights and foot soldiers and—what was far more formidable—a Bull from Pope Adrian IV giving him authority to conquer the country in the name of Christianity. The Irish had been Christian for some 700 years at the time, but that was only a detail. The Irish bishops and regional kings and chiefs pledged allegiance to Henry and in return he promised to tame his freebooting Norman barons who were carving out feudal fiefdoms for themselves by taking sides in local wars, a promise he promptly forgot about when he left Ireland. Pope Alexander III hailed Henry as "a pious king and magnificent prince" who had "wonderfully and gloriously triumphed over the people of Ireland" and that seemed the end of the "Irish Question." Of course it was only the beginning of the alliance between "Christ and Caesar" that has kept Ireland in turmoil.

More than 400 years later Queen Elizabeth's armies were mired in the bogs of Ireland and her favorite Essex could make no headway against the great Ulster rebel, Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone. But power eventually prevailed and the conquest of Ireland was completed at the Battle of Kinsale. King James I confiscated Tyrone's territories and settled colonies of English Protestants and Scottish Presbyterians in Ulster. Gaelic Ireland lived on in the hills and marshlands and the great

IRENOLOGY

The Study of Peace

By Joseph J. Fahey

This 16-page booklet is a practical manual for college faculty, students and administrators who would like to see peace studies introduced into their curriculum. Drawing on the experience of Manhattan College in establishing its Peace Studies Institute, Professor Fahey discusses the academic justification of a peace studies major, lists the kinds of courses that should be included in such a program and outlines practical steps that members of the academic community can take to further the study of peace on their campuses. Single copies are available FREE from Irenology

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barriers of religion, customs, culture, privilege, even language kept the communities apart.

The settlers were industrious, independent-minded and God-fearing. During the 18th century many of them emigrated to America where they became known as the Scotch-Irish; to distinguish them from the other kind no doubt. (Andrew Jackson's parents were among the emigrants.) They were strongly influenced by the American and French revolutions and some of them sought an alliance with their Catholic fellow-countrymen with the aim of establishing a republic independent of England in Ireland. No movement as progressive as the one they founded for this end—the United Irishmen—has since appeared. But their hopes ended in the bloody rebellion in 1798 and were never repeated.

For reasons which are fully set out in Prof. Lyons' weighty, authoritative and well-written work the Lagan Valley dominated by Belfast became the industrial heartland of Ireland during the 19th century, specializing in ship-building, textiles and heavy engineering. The success of these enterprises depended on Empire free trade, both for raw materials and sales. Meanwhile, Catholic Ireland was demanding the right to run its own affairs independent of England. Protestant Ulster saw its future threatened, materially by a backward peasantry and spiritually by a Catholic clergy hungry for power. The great Tory party of England—the Establishment—played on their fears, building into their consciousness the slogan: "Home Rule means Rome Rule."

Fifty years ago Britain came up with a temporary solution to the "Irish Question": partition. It has exacerbated the problem. The Protestants of Ulster, organized in the Tory-led Unionist Party, set up their own regional parliament with full power over such domestic matters as police, education and local government. They promptly used legal powers to maintain Protestant privilege against the Catholic third of the population who want union with the rest of Ireland. In the beginning no one took

the partition proposal too seriously. Sir Edward Carson, the Unionist leader, used it as a threat to defeat Home Rule. He armed his followers with guns from the Kaiser's Germany and gave Prime Minister H. H. Asquith's Liberal government the choice of civil war or capitulation. With the Establishment of England on his side, naturally Carson won. But what he really wanted was an Ireland united under the Crown. In that sense he lost. But the chief losers were the Irish people, Protestant and Catholic alike.

Now the settlement of 1921 is collapsing and ironically history may record that the man who gave it the final push was the arch-Tory Edward Heath whose first act when he came to power in June 1970 was to turn his guns on the Catholic Nationalists. The IRA did not initiate the chain of violence that led to the present situation. Nor, in fairness, did Wilson's Labor government. But whatever happens next in Ireland the Unionists must lose "their long monopoly of power," as Prof. Lyons puts it. The partition experiment has failed, but what will take its place?

Prof. Lyons provides no answers. "Internal union" and "external independence" was the hope of one of the greatest of Protestant Irishmen, the 19th-century writer and poet, Thomas Davis; and it still seems worth a try. Himself an Ulster Protestant, Prof. Lyons has a sure grasp of every aspect of Irish life—social, political, religious, cultural, economic. Taking as his starting point the great famine (1845-48) that killed perhaps a million Irish and drove another million out of the country, Prof. Lyons' narrative sweeps through decades of change, tragedy, romance and revolution to the Ireland of today with its economic pressures, religio-political confrontations (in Northern Ireland) and two conservative states. Too much sacrifice has indeed made a stone of the heart.

Prof. Richard Rose is an American social scientist and doubtless he has produced a very valuable book, but he collected his data between 1965 and 1968 when the very existence of the Northern Ireland state was not in ques-

The clergy, viewed through writers' eyes

IRVING SUSSMAN

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A LOOK AT THE RABBI, PRIEST AND MINISTER THROUGH THE EYES OF LITERATURE

The clergyman — priest, minister, rabbi — has been a favorite of fiction almost since fiction began. Hero and villain, sinner and saint, he has fascinated writers as diverse as Dostoyevsky and Chaucer, Sholom Asch and Graham Greene, S. Ansky and Rolf Hochhuth, Chaim Potok and Edwin O'Connor.

How have they seen him, this "vocationed man"? Where does he belong? What is his function — sociologist, humanist, politician, mystic? How does he see himself and how do others see him?

For the answers, Irving Sussman has gone to the literature of the Judaeo-Christian world, the poetic and realistic writings, the novels, plays and stories that have come forth through the centuries. His exploration of this rich, fascinating field is perceptive and revealing.

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by IRVING SUSSMAN

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tion as it is now. Yet he is right in pointing out that economic, political and other reforms will not solve Northern Ireland's problems. We know that there are poor Protestants as well as poor Catholics and that the antagonisms are sharpest among them. We know that emigration and unemployment are very high among Ulster Catholics and many of us knew that the Catholic Church receives substantial education grants from the Protestant state. But contrary to popular belief, Catholics are not as

widely discriminated against by government, in housing especially, as they think. Housing conditions generally are bad and the Protestant poor suffer too; but there are actually, according to Prof. Rose, more Catholics proportionately in public housing than Protestants.

He has one quotation from the "liberal" ex-Premier Terence O'Neill that tells a great deal about Northern Ireland and its problems:

It is frightfully hard to explain to a Protestant that if you give Roman Catholics a good job and a good house, they will live like Protestants, because they will see neighbors with cars and television sets. They will refuse to have 18 children on National Assistance. It is impossible to explain this to a militant Protestant, because he is so keen to deny civil rights to his Roman Catholic neighbors. He cannot understand, in fact, that if you treat Roman Catholics with due consideration and kindness they will live like Protestants, in spite of the authoritative nature of their Church.

Prof. Patrick O'Farrell is an Australian. It is his thesis that the English never really understood the true nature of the "Irish Question" which, as the title of his book indicates, was in reality an "English Question." "The future of Anglo-Irish relations was determined by the failure of the Reformation in Ireland," he maintains. English law had no moral authority in Ireland; the mass of the population rejected it. "So it was that the colonies of Virginia and Ulster were born under the same aegis and regarded in England as similar enterprises—with Indians and Irishmen

occupying equivalent roles." But the Irish survived.

These are plausible theories. He sees Britain having to answer the "Irish Question" by imposing the 20th century on the 17th. Failing that Northern Ireland will descend "into greater bloodshed under the living dead-weight of its own history."

Political Expectation

PAUL TILLICH

Edited by JAMES LUTHER ADAMS

Harper and Row, \$5.95

MARTIN E. MARTY

The radical theology of the 1960s fancied itself to be so radical that only the young could cope with it. Thanks to a report in *Life* magazine, for example, the story is around that Paul Tillich was so shaken by a lecture delivered by a death-of-God theologian that his life was shortened. One has to reach for a profound "Pshaw!" to deal with that story: whoever has read James Luther Adams' work on *Paul Tillich's Philosophy of Culture, Science and Religion*, or better, has read early Tillich himself, knows that there was nothing in the pop-radicalism of the 1960s that had not been anticipated and faced by Tillich in the 1920s.

More recently revolutionary theology conceives of itself as having attained levels of political extremism beyond any conceived by forefathers. The readers of *Political Expectation*, a collection of Tillichian writings on politics and socialism, will soon learn that back in the 1920s Tillich was foreshadowing most of what came to be discussed in the late 1960s. Not that he was committed to armed revolution when he advocated socialization of state and society—but recent studies show that not many of the recent spokesmen for a theology of revolution have meant by revolution what revolutionaries mean by revolution. Theoretical radicalism characterizes their writings as it did his.

Adams, the reigning expert on early Tillich (or on almost anything else he

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REVIEWERS

JEROME KRETCHMER is head of the Environmental Protective Administration, City of New York.

SEAN CRONIN, a native of Ireland, is a reporter for the *Newark Evening News*.

MARTIN E. MARTY is professor of modern church history at the University of Chicago, and author of *Righteous Empire: The Protestant Experience in America*.

puts his mind to) has provided a helpful introduction, though he has spent more time than necessary on the backgrounds or alternatives to Tillich in this period: Martin Heidegger, Rudolf Bultman, and Karl Barth. We would have welcomed more discussion of the political realities of the Weimar Republic out of which Tillich's vision of religious socialism grew.

The book is strangely assembled. Essays from 1928, 1929, 1930, 1923, and 1930 are suddenly interrupted by one on Marxism and Christianity from 1960. One can learn the dates of these writings in the small print in the forepart of the book, but there is nothing on the pages themselves that suggests that the essay of 1960, located where it is in a sequence, is not an example of amazing foresight. The book closes with lectures from 1965 (on power) and 1951, on Utopia. While some new publications suggest that the bottom of the Tillich barrel is being scraped, this particular book shows that enough adhered to the sides of that barrel to be representable as top-quality material.

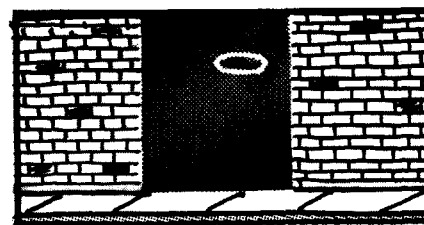
Most of the essays revolve around themes uniting Christianity and particularly Protestant culture with socialism. What kind of socialist was Tillich? I often think of the Jewish mother who sets her son straight as he speaks in admiration of a Sunday sailor: "By me he's a sea captain, and by you he's a sea captain, but by sea captains is he a sea captain?" Those of us who have enduring interests in religious and Christian socialism might find Tillich a socialist; would socialists consider him one? These essays do not deal head-on with the revolutionary means needed to establish the kinds of social order he seems to envisage. True, Weimar Germany was so unsettled that perhaps one could have pictured that new order growing phoenix-like out of the ashes of European destruction. But the more recent pieces do not reckon with the fact that Western Europe and Anglo-America, Tillich's base of operations, have not been found to be in a "pre-revolutionary" situation. And the democratic socialism or welfare statism to which they were drifting hardly demon-

strates the radical character his kind of kingdom would have to display.

What, then, is the significance of Tillich's contributions? Should he be dismissed with all the gentle dreamers who fell between camps because they wanted to socialize Christianity and Christianize socialism? Hardly. Staughton Lynd has said that the question for the next generation is, "Is a *humane* socialism possible?" Tillich devotes himself to the adjective, seeing certain kinds of socialist impulses to be extensions of Christian humanism, whether their partisans see it that way or not. For him, socialism is to seek theonomy, "a condition in which the spiritual and social forms are filled with the import of the Unconditional as the foundation, meaning, and reality of all forms." (p. 62.) "Religious socialism is a community of those who understand themselves in the consciousness of the Kairos and who struggle for the fate, that is, the grace, of theonomy." (p. 88.) Try that out at the next meeting of the S.D.S. or editorial board of an underground newspaper and you may not get far; interpret it and it may just happen to provide a clue to what's been missing in much socialism of recent decades.

Many of the essays devote themselves to a discussion of Protestant contributions. Anyone who thinks of the Protestant establishment in American churchdom will have a hard time making sense of what Tillich is talking about. But he sees Protestantism also as a prophetic, critical spirit which calls into question all human ventures in the light of a transcendent reference. On those terms, he is hopeful about a certain kind of Christian contribution. On some pages he comes close to beginning to spell out a much-needed "phenomenology of grace" connected with this prophetic realism. He also pictures the day when Catholicism will have to enter a Protestant phase. In 1929 he seemed to foresee what happened post-Vatican II: "The Catholic world has not taken the step which the Protestant world has taken, the step toward doing away with the objectification of the holy and the step toward a personal decision. The Catholic world

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must take this step; it cannot avoid it." The price has been high, and the secularism that haunts Protestant culture now threatens its Catholic counterpart.

The final superb essay on Utopia suggests that to be man means to have utopia, for utopia is rooted in man's being; to understand history one must posit utopia at the beginning and the end; that all utopias are negations of negation. But the Protestant principle also affects utopian yearnings. "It is the spirit of utopia that conquers utopia." The lesson has not yet been learned, and the anomie that now characterizes the attitudes of refugees from recent utopian movements in our culture shows how little has yet been grasped of the vision Tillich and his kind have sought to impart.

CORRESPONDENCE



(Continued from page 195)

ity, he received his largest vote in just these wards.

A great deal has been made in many Monday morning quarterbacking articles of the fact that during the Lee administration, the central city was redeveloped extensively (thus adding to New Haven's previously al-

most nonexistent tax base) while the writers maintain housing for the poor and low-income population was neglected. To say that the reason for the commercial and industrial construction was that Lee "shared with many others the fault of being overly concerned with real estate while remaining blind to the sickness beneath the surface" is patent nonsense. In order to pay for the many human development programs undertaken during the Lee administration, local tax monies were obviously necessary. They could only be obtained by raising the welfare and education services. After all, one of the reasons that so much federal money came to New Haven, was that New Haven was able (unlike other cities) to raise its own grand list. Again, any review of building statistics in Connecticut will disclose that under the Lee administration at least four times as many housing units were built as in any other city in Connecticut during the same period. Lee did not believe, correctly as it turns out, in the construction of large concentrations of public housing, apartments in which poor people would be isolated from the rest of the community. He had watched what happened in such developments as Elm Haven and Farnam Courts which

are typical examples of the social and psychological mistakes of ghettoizing the poor. Under the Lee administration a great deal of moderate and middle-income housing was built. However, Lee was one of the first mayors in the United States to use federal housing subsidies to allow tenants eligible for public housing, to move into this kind of project, thus avoiding the concentration and stigmatization of the poor in public housing projects. Elderly public housing was constructed and has worked out very well because, for a number of reasons which are not relevant to this point, the elderly do not seem to mind being concentrated there.

The so-called riot that occurred in New Haven was vastly exaggerated by the media, partly because New Haven was considered such a well administered city. It is interesting to note that during the same period, riots occurred in Waterbury, Bridgeport and Hartford in which people were injured and killed. In New Haven's mini-riot no one was injured seriously enough to be hospitalized. I personally checked the emergency rooms of Yale-New Haven Hospital and St. Raphael's Hospital the Monday after the disturbances and found that both had had a lower rate of admissions than on an average summer weekend. Obviously, Lee's Police Chief handled the situation superbly. It is interesting to note in this respect that unrest in the black community occurred less frequently in those cities that did have progressive mayors and in which indigenous black leadership had been encouraged, due in part, to the efforts of these mayors. There were riots in Detroit, Pittsburgh and Washington, D.C. There were no riots in Dallas, Mobile, or Greenwich, Connecticut.

At the present time New Haven is in considerably better shape economically, physically and even psychologically, than Bridgeport, Hartford, Waterbury or any other medium-sized city in the state, with the possible exception of Stamford. We have less unemployment than any of these cities except Hartford, due in no small

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measure to the commerce and industry that Richard C. Lee brought to New Haven. We have more housing, fewer dilapidated schools, fewer ghetto disturbances and more responsible, intelligent, indigenous black leadership than any other of Connecticut's cities. I might add that the two Democrats whom Mr. Hale mentioned with a great deal of praise in his article, the black candidate, Henry Parker and the labor leader, Vincent Sirabella (whose politics are more radical than Parker's) had nothing but praise for Richard Lee during the entire primary campaign. I worked on the Parker campaign and I know that Parker himself, thinks highly of Lee, as do all of the Aldermen elected on his ticket. The only criticism of the Lee administration came from the political machine of Arthur Barbieri and incumbent mayor, Bartholomew Guida. Not even the relatively progressive candidate, Paul Capra, has had any real criticism of the Lee administration.

I think it is about time that we stop knocking those political leaders who have sincerely tried to make changes in the system. Incompetent and sleazy politicians don't get any publicity at all. This, of course, means that they don't get any blame either. We tend to knock good political leaders because they are not absolutely perfect and don't solve all problems, thus discouraging the John Lindsays, the Carl Stokes, and the Richard C. Lees, while entrusting our political destinies to the Arthur Barbieris, the Frank Hagues and the John Mitchells of this world.

Lee did a superb job for New Haven. The reformers did not bomb . . . they did the best job possible in the urban crisis of the 1960's. To single them out for scorn and blame is not only unfair, it's stupid!

ELLEN SWITZER

Reply

1) It is true that Mayor Lee received the votes of working-class whites and blacks; but that is not quite the same relationship to the Mayor enjoyed by

Yale liberals and businessmen, who were brought directly into the process of decision-making at all levels.

2) Why was it necessary to raise the local tax base? Lee was, as his supporters claim and as I concede, a genius at extracting money from the federal government. Why wasn't this money used to renovate the residential districts, instead of making the downtown area into a showpiece? True, there are housing projects in New Haven. There are housing projects in nearly every city in the North. This fact doesn't earn New Haven any special marks for enlightenment. The point is that there aren't nearly *enough* housing units in the city, even though bad housing was one of the social problems Richard Lee was most anxious to solve.

3) A riot is a riot. That there were no fatalities may reflect well on the rioters and the police. It does not save the city administration.

4) I challenge the statement that New Haven is in "better shape" than such towns as Bridgeport and Hartford. New Haven's unemployment rate is 9 percent (which cannot be blamed on Mayor Lee, and which I did not blame on him): I don't know what Ellen Switzer is using as a standard, but New Haven looks pretty dilapidated to me. It also looked pretty dilapidated to

Henry Parker, since one of his campaign themes was that New Haven is in terrible shape. Surely Mayor Guida didn't accomplish this all by himself, in just two years?

Now, of course, Richard Lee is not a villain, and I don't think I pictured him as one. He was one of the country's better mayors, and it is that fact which forces the harsh judgment that his tenure was "well-meant but misguided." It is simply not true that Lee and the "reformers" did "the best job possible." Starting out with the premise that government is a thing to be measured in dollars and cents and handled by experts, they helped further the process of social decay that can be seen in New Haven and every other city in the country. The terrible alienation of ordinary people, not only from this or that government, but from politics in general, cannot be blamed solely on the Barbieris, the Hagues, and the Mitchells of this world. The Lees, the Lindsays, and the Brewsters must accept their fair share, and it was my intention only to point this out. DENNIS HALE

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